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ABSTRACT

Qualitative interviews and field observation were used in a study that examined the duties, satisfaction, organizational constraints, and career pathways of advertising agency account executives. In addition, the study compared the personnel functions of two different agencies--one large and one small. Results showed that the functions of account executives varied with agencies. In the small agency, the executive was likely to perform many functions, while in the large agency the executive performed more specialized duties. Executives in both agencies tended to be the more mature members of the staff and to possess a high level of knowledge of advertising in its processes. They often had been trained carefully by the agencies in the areas of media, research, and other fields before becoming executives. The executives tended to credit "luck" with getting jobs, the luck including having the right contact at the right place. There seemed to be no way of getting into the field without a college degree, and most agency personnel were hired directly upon college graduation. In general, the findings support the notion that the organizational system is important for adult socialization and career mobility. Furthermore, the complexity of the organization tends to lead the individual workers to be more competitive, constrained, and impersonal in their relationships with other workers. (FL)

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THE ADROOM OPERATION: THE STRUCTURE, FUNCTIONS AND
SOCIALIZATION OF THE ADWORKER IN THE ADVERTISING AGENCY

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ABSTRACT

THE ADROOM OPERATION: THE STRUCTURE, FUNCTIONS AND
SOCIALIZATION OF THE ADWORKER IN THE ADVERTISING AGENCY

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An advertising agency is a social institution having a complex hierarchical structure, that operates a highly differentiated environment with which it continually interacts. We believe in that the advertising is one of the most persuasive communication activities for the community and that their operation and performance merit public examination.

What kind of people make advertising? How do they learn adwork in the field? How does work get done which meets organizational needs and standards? How does the advertising agency operate? The public is less likely to know about these questions on the adworks and the innerworkings of advertising institutions than about the advertising per se. It is important for the public to understand the adroom operation.

Advertising is the arch that supports trade activity in America, and the keystone in that arch is the advertising agency. Advertising agencies are organizations of specialists in advertising. The central position in advertising communication in the agency is occupied by the account executives whose function is primarily as a liaison providing two-way communication between agency and advertiser.

This study is concerned with the education and training of advertising personnel who working in advertising agencies through a qualitative interview and observation. To contribute to an understanding of the advertising agency organization itself, the historical evolution of advertising agency business is briefly stated. In addition, the structure and functions of the advertising agency are compared and contrasted in two different sized advertising agencies. As the central actors in the advertising communication, the account executives were asked about their duties, job satisfaction and mobility, organizational constraints, and the pathways of their career which included entry-exit-reentry patterns.

THE ADROOM OPERATION: THE STRUCTURE, FUNCTIONS AND SOCIALIZATION OF THE ADWORKER IN THE ADVERTISING AGENCY

Introduction

In most occupations, there are two important areas of performance that make a person successful: competence and how well he or she gets along in the organization by meeting its needs and standards. As a highly competitive occupational community, the advertising profession also requires high accomplishment in both of these areas.

Advertising is the arch that supports trade activity in America, and the keystone in that arch is the advertising agency (Barton, 1955). Advertising agencies are organizations of specialists in advertising. Today, the full-service agency employs writers, artists, media experts, researchers, TV producers, account executives, and others as part of the organization. There are also smaller boutique agencies with limited functions and services (DeFleur and Dennis, 1981).¹

Since the first advertising agency was started in Philadelphia by Volney B. Palmer in 1842,² the advertising agency has evolved in its nature and its services (Hower, 1949; Barton, 1955; Holland, 1976; Miracle, 1977). The advertising business has grown in the United States into an industry employing more than 80,000 persons and managing the annual investment of well over \$20 billion. The 583 largest American agencies reported income (on that \$20 billion plus billings) of \$2.9 billion in 1977 (Pease, 1979).³

Of these 80,000, an estimated 4,000 to 8,000 persons must be replaced each year as a result of retirements, resignation, discharges, etc. These

figures are based on the assumption by Ross(1965:2) that the turn-over ratio of five to ten percent per year for business in general holds for advertising. Agencies prefer to hire persons who are well-trained and experienced in the advertising field or in the related business.

The question then arises as to where the industry will obtain the needed employees each year. Are the new employees drawn from other industries, or from other organizations in the same industry, or from journalism graduates of colleges and universities? Who are they? Where do they get job information? What is the academic preparation for a career in the advertising profession? These questions are illuminated in the patterns of career flow, the recruiting procedures, and the organizational standards of selection and rejection of the prospects.

The next question arises as to how the industry will train the obtained new staff. Are there any formal or informal on-the-job-training programs? What are the differences from one firm to another firm? How do the participants in this professional community interact with each other, and how does that interaction work in socializing the adworkers? The intent here is to study the extent to which certain characteristics of the career flow and occupational socialization of the advertising profession are associated with the structure and functions of the specific advertising organization. The career flow is studied here in the context of inter- and intra-organizational mobility, and the occupational socialization is defined as the extent of the formal and informal on-the-job-training in the context of advertising agency operations.

For¹ the purpose of this study, occupational socialization is examined with the account executive group in each of two Twin Cities advertising agencies: one large and one small. Little empirical evidence has been found on the extent of education and training in advertising of that is occupational socialization

in the field. Recent studies of the advertising agencies were carried out by Rotzoll and Christians(1980) focusing on the practitioners' perceptions of ethical decisions, and Krugman and Ferrell(1981) focusing on the organizational ethics of advertising. Pease(1979) examines the costs of advertising agency services in the light of agency-client relations, and Doyle, Corstjens and Michell(1980) illustrate the vulnerability in the relation of current accounts - a key problem facing agencies in the United Kingdom. Moreover, Coe(1981) reports a pilot study of appropriate curriculum for entry level advertising people based on the survey of advertising agency executives. She found that the agency executives think marketing and advertising knowledge is important for practitioners. However, no studies were discovered which examined agency practitioners' career patterns and their learning processes within the organization.⁴

This study is concerned with the education and training of advertising personnel who working in advertising institutions through a qualitative interview and field observation. To contribute to an understanding of the advertising agency organization itself, the historical evolution of advertising agency business is stated. In addition, the structure and functions of the advertising agency are compared in two different sized agencies. As the central actors in the advertising agencies, the account executives were asked about their duties, job satisfaction and mobility, organizational constraints, and the pathways of their career which included entry-exit-reentry patterns. The researcher observed the activities and practices within the adroom units of each agency and conducted interviews with account executives(three persons from the large agency and one person from the small agency) and follow-up interviews with a copywriter and an art director from the large agency. The main interviews and field observations were carried out in April and May, 1981.

Advertising Agencies as Communication Institutions

An advertising agency is a social institution having a complex hierarchical structure, that operates in a highly differentiated environment with which it continually interacts. As one of the most powerful communication institutions, its operations and performances merit public examination. Nevertheless, the public is less likely to know about the adworks and the advertising institutions than about advertising per se.

Although advertising agencies have come a long way since the 19th century, when they were essentially space brokers, their fundamental business philosophy has changed little in the United States(Holland, 1976). According to the history of advertising agency development, by the early 1900 they began to organize into specialized departments to meet the growing needs of the advertiser. Agencies functioning as space wholesalers changed slowly into semi-service-oriented organizations. During the 1930's and 1940's agencies began to use new techniques and methods of analysis in order to learn more about the consumers.

By the early 1960's most large agencies were considered "full service" agencies, offering a wide variety of marketing and advertising services to clients. Particularly they have emphasized the importance of the creative functions over the other agency functions. By the mid 1960's many creative people broke away from larger agencies and established their own independent "creative boutiques." The creative orientation of industry, the advertiser's increased need to differentiate his or her product from competitors, and the number of successes among established boutiques, fostered a growing demand for this type of service(Miracle, 1977; DeFleur and Dennis, 1981).

By the early 1970's, advertisers and agencies began to make additional adjustments in their marketing and advertising functions. The scope and rate

of change of agency services to the flexible service pattern has broadened and accelerated. More and more agencies began offering a combination of services including help in seeking outside service organizations to supplement certain agency functions. Perhaps more than ever before, interorganizational transaction activities are necessary in the field. Presumably, there will be more organizational readjustments according to the increase^Y in pressures for efficiency and control of costs in the 1980's. In short, advertising agencies changed their structure and functions in accordance with their social surroundings.

Today, there are in the United States 3,842 agencies listed in the Standard Directory of Advertising Agencies (Feb. 1981). Agencies vary greatly in size and other characteristics. The largest agency in the United States is the J. Walter Thompson Group, Inc. with annual billing of approximately 2.6 billion dollars in 1981. It is, of course, a multinational corporation.

The other extreme in size is the one-person agency. In such an agency there may be a secretary, but the owner essentially performs all of the other duties from president to janitor. The small agency N in this study (Case II) is the closest to this type of organization, having just four and a half persons. It is estimated that the agency of average size is comprized of ten persons.⁵

There is a tendency in the agency business, as in other forms of business, for the large agencies to become larger. This is because of their great resources in talent and experience, their financial strength, and their great prestige. Many advertisers take pride in having their accounts handled by well-known advertising agencies, and this naturally benefits the larger concerns. The question arises as to what effect this tendency has on advertising practitioner; that is, what difference does it make in the performance by account executives. We shall see this in comparing two types of advertising agencies.

Two Examples: Agency G and Agency N⁶

Case I: Advertising agency G is one of the larger agencies in the United States (ranking 117 in 1980) which has 105 employees. It had gross billing of \$26.8 million in 1980 fiscal year, up \$1.2 million from the previous year. Agency G was founded as an independent firm in Minneapolis in 1935. It is a full-service marketing and advertising agency which includes professional service in public relations, marketing consulting, sales management consulting, and sales meeting production. It has four branch offices in four different states in the United States.⁷

Agency G opens to a great number of individuals an opportunity to share in profits according to the company regulation. According to the annual report 1980, fortyfive of its employees are stockholders. Profit sharing program is a device to keep valuable employees from walking out with the agency's accounts. It is one of the popular policies taken by many agencies regardless of organizational size. In addition to this profit sharing program, Agency G provides various organizational benefits such as insurances, tax payments, hospitalizations and stock options. Also there is a bonus program to encourage employees' good performance. This type of management policy can often improve the employees' job satisfactions within the organization. The principle here is that "the hard worker gets more rewards than the less hard worker."

Agency G is organized as a group agency, that is, it is subdivided into four different account group: 1) financial, 2) consumer, 3) agri-business, and 4) industrial groups. Each group does its contacting, works out the plans (subject to check by the agency's planning board or its supervisors), writes the copy, and makes the illustrations. Parallel to that group, another does the same for other accounts. All groups use the centralized research, media,

print and broadcast productions, and accounting department. Under the direction of an account supervisor titled vice president, a number of account managers and account executives perform their jobs, which are usually a combination of contact, planning and merchandising work. Here, the duties of an account executive are more likely to be narrowed down to the typical tasks which defined as contact client people and organize agency resources. The tasks are specialized instead of expanding or overlapping in the auxiliary functions of total advertising work flow.

Recently, Agency G expanded its office facilities. Each account executive has his or her own room and group secretaries right outside of his or her office.⁸ Total office space is 22,000 square feet which means 209.5 square feet per person. Agency G now has a media library, a research library, two fully equipped conference rooms, a focus group interview room, creative concept rooms, departmental meeting rooms, a print production viewing room, and a new computer(ETA April, 1981). The agency has a new telephone system which is designed for more consistent and quiet working environment. Telephone callers are screened by the receptionist first as well as visitors. In a way, it seems like a convenient system of handling people for individual workers; on the other hand, it is a highly centralized organizational control system.

The board of directors in Agency G consist of 11 persons who are the largest stockholders including a creative director, account group supervisors and branch office managers. Because the company is owned by 45 of its 105 employees, each employee might thinking "one day I'll be the company president."

Case II: The small agency N is a kind of "boutique" agency, although they consider themselves a full-service agency, with the gross billing of \$1 million in 1980. Agency N was started in Minneapolis in 1976 by current

owner Mr. B, the former account supervisor in the largest advertising agency in the Twin Cities.⁹

Agency N is organized with two account executives (including the owner), a secretary, a media specialist and a half time book-keeper. Here, two account executives handle more than fifteen clients. Each person has his or her production line utilizing outside freelancers such as writers, photographers, art directors, radio and TV commercial producers, and marketing researchers. The basic flow of adwork is almost identical to Agency G's case. Using the outside independent production staff seems to be a complicated, but the account executives of Agency N perceive it as a convenient way of performing adwork. They say that they don't have to go through all the stages of bureaucratic procedures under the complex organizational framework.

Here, one person is expected to be a jack-of-all-trades. The duties of an account executive are more widely scattered in the advertising production process as a whole. This leads an account executive to be more autonomous, more responsible, and more self-starting in performing his or her tasks. Since there is no data bank or library facilities in Agency N, each person should initiate to gathering information about competitors or other related business in general. Usually the clients provide such information. Members of Agency N share idea, information without any formalized reporting procedure. Each person has his or her own office space as well. Often the account executives are having meetings in the clients' office, although the agency has a meeting room. Sometimes, they have meetings in the freelancers' places or in the restaurants.

Evans's study(1973) shows an interesting consistency regarding the involvement and self-starting performance on the small agency operations.

Relative to the San Francisco market, Evans analyzed the effect of agency size on management style. In his study, the smallest agency and the largest agency were considered to be nearly equal in success. He states that the boutique agency is the only way to resolve problems relating to the non-bureaucratic nature of the agency's mission. Agency N seems to fit this model. The company's business is in good shape and it has profit-sharing plan.

Account Executives as the Central Actors in the Advertising Agencies

In the advertising agency, the central position in advertising communication is occupied by the account executive whose function is primarily as a liaison - providing two-way communication between agency and advertiser - but may also include providing leadership within the agency in directing, planning, and creating general strategy for its accounts. Account executives, as communication facilitators, are expected to have all the virtues of being ambitious, compatible, decisive, enterprising, logical, self-starting, thorough, vital, well-organized (Johnson, 1973), tough, and healthy (Bensman, 1970), reliable, knowledgeable, and strong (Douglas, 1932). Above all, the account executive should be a good listener.

The account executive is sometimes called a contact person, account manager, or account representative. It is his or her duty chiefly to translate the client's wishes and programs to the agency so that it can carry them out in the form of advertising and merchandising programs. Johnson (1973) identifies the main functions of the account executive as anticipating, administering, and representing. The work involves getting a particular advertising campaign or advertisements approved by the client. Sometimes the client approval in each stage of advertising production can be a means of self-protection.

Conceivably, it can be a subtle technical defense mechanism for an account executive who happens to have some mistakes in produced materials. The final okayed signature determines the ultimate responsibility.¹¹

As we learned from Agency G and Agency N, the particular functions of account executives are varied with agencies. In the small agency setting, the account executive is likely to perform many functions, not only contacting client but also copywriting, and the person may select his or her own media and take care of the traffic on his or her own work.

What knowledge is then needed? The account executive is usually a person who has a knowledge of the client's business and of the agency's resources, that is, the abilities and experience of the agency personnel. He or she should also have a wide knowledge of advertising in its various phases. Armed with this knowledge of client's business, of agency, and of advertising, the account executive is not a mere order-taker but a business consultant and creative planner for both the agency and the client; he or she should have a thorough knowledge of advertising in its processes (West, 1948). In Douglas's classical observation (1932) regarding all the functions of the agency, such as mechanical productions, media, research, schedules (whether or not these functions are represented by separate departments), successful account management assumes at least enough knowledge to recognize its own limitations.

Consequently, the account executives are on the whole the more mature members of the agency family. A study in the Advertising Agency,¹² for instance, showed that the largest number of copywriters employed in 26 agencies were between ages thirty and forty, while the largest number of account executives were between forty and fifty (Barton, 1955). Because a high level of knowledge is required for the account executives, they are often trained carefully in the agency, spending time in media, research, and as assistant account executive

before they are assigned such important jobs. Such in-house training costs a lot; that is why most of the large agencies in the Twin Cities recruit as account executives only those who have experience (five year or more is preferable) in the advertising field or client businesses. The tendency to hire the most experienced prospects in the advertising agency community implies that the inter-organizational mobility of account executives flows from the smaller to the larger agency.

What does career mobility look like? Where do account executives come from? According to Ross (1965), some of the new employees in the advertising industry are drawn from other industries; others are brought into industry as beginners; and some come into advertising as liberal arts and advertising graduates of colleges and universities.

By and large, account executives' career flow is seen to be an upward pattern both in terms of the intra- and inter-organizational mobility. In the case of intra-organizational mobility, an ideally simple model of flow up through an organization is something like: recruits enter at the bottom in positions of least prestige and move up through the ranks as they gain in age, skill and experience (Becker and Strauss, 1956). Of course, most would advance to upper ranks. But only a few reach the summit of the organization. Often age is an important career factor as indicated in Mr. A's statement during the field interview. At thirtyfive years old Mr. A, an account executive, account supervisor, and vice president, identifies his career goal as reaching the company president position before the age of fiftyfive. The intra-company competition is very keen as usual. There are seven competitors in Agency G for that position now. When career routes are well laid out, higher positions are routinely filled by aspirants at the next lower level (Becker and Strauss, 1956).

However, Mr. A's career goal may or may not come true, since the career movement may be not only up but down or sideways.¹³

In the case of inter-organizational movement, the career mobility seems more likely to flow the smaller organizations to the larger organizations unless one fails to keep up with it. Or, when one can jump up several steps on the career ladder, by being offered a chance in the smaller organization. The inverse type of this career flow can be also true. One of Agency G's young account executive says that when he was seeking a job in the large advertising agency right after the college education (advertising major), the personnel manager told him, "You are not ready for our agency yet. Get some experiences elsewhere, then come back here."¹⁴ So, he started as an assistant to an account executive in a small Minneapolis agency (emp. seven persons) for about three years, as a public relations staff for a famous singer for two years in New York City, then came back to the Twin Cities. Through informal channels, he got information about a job opening and finally he got into Agency G six months ago. He was not started as an account executive but a copywriter. After six months, when he finished the orientation period, which is for getting acquainted with the organizational structure and the functions, the company designated him as the new business soliciting account executive in the consumer group.¹⁵ So far, Mr. D says that he enjoys his role in the company. Mr. D expects his current position to turn out to be a faster ladder for his career development by expanding the organization's structure, by creating a new departmental subunit. This kind of expansion, if any, may offer him an irregular jumping up chance in such a competitive organization. For instance if the new unit some day becomes a department, he may become a manager.

Another example of inter-organization movement is when of client adworkers become agency adworkers, or agency adworkers become client adworkers. This is

a very common job change pattern in the advertising community. An interesting point is that when an adworker moves his or her position from the agency to the client, the person is expected to get a huge promotion among other things.¹⁶ Apparently, though, the moving pattern, from client to agency is the more usual flow of careers. For instance, copywriter Mr. C moved into Agency G from a large electric company, and account manager Mr. E came from one of the savings and loans associations.¹⁷ Both of them are now working for the clients with relevant business types to their previous jobs. These illustrations imply that early job challenge correlates strongly with later performance and success (Berlew and Hall, 1966). Furthermore, the mobility appears to be self-generating; the more different social^y and work settings one moves through, the larger the reservoir of personal contacts one has which may mediate further mobility (Granovetter, 1974). This type of job mobility pattern is not only found from Mr. C and Mr. E, but also Mr. A, account supervisor of Agency G, and Mr. B, account executive and owner of Agency N who was the account supervisor in the largest advertising agency in the Twin Cities.

Where do account executives get job information? How do they get the jobs? And why not others? The pathways of these account executives are very similar to Granovetter's findings from professional, technical, and managerial (PTM) workers. Among his PTM sample in Boston area, Granovetter(1974) found that the personal contact is the predominant method of finding out about jobs. The central theme of "getting a job" involves "luck" in job-finding, having the right contact in the right place at the right time. That was the case of Mr. A,¹⁸ although his reentry into Agency G was possible through an employment agency in 1973.

Similarly, Ms. A of the boutique agency N also found the account executive job through one of her acquaintances Mr. B. They were both graduate students in

an advertising seminar. They talked about idealism and small, independent business operations in the advertising field. Ms. A began her career as an instructor of teaching advertising in a community college. Soon after, she started to think about finding a different job. She felt that she needed some exciting work. She decided to go into the advertising profession, and searched for a job in large advertising agencies. She applied to one of the largest advertising agencies in the country, but the answer was "No." The reason was "Too academic."

When there is a job opening for an account executive position, Agency G utilize both formal and informal information channels. They use employment agencies, newspapers or trade magazines with prospect files from internal and external boundary people. The method of recruiting depends upon the organization's purpose. Although the agencies are generally eager to hire well-trained, well-skilled professionals, they cannot give chances to all the prospects. According to Mr. A, once he interviewed a highly qualified female account executive but he could not hire her because her salary demand was too high in terms of his company standards. The person could not get the job because she would not fit in the organization. This is consistent result with Hall's notion about medical careers: "The question is not whether the applicant possesses a specific trait ... but whether these traits can be assimilated by the specific institutions (1948:332)." The rigid training program in the professional community is considered to be an organizational control. The medical community is the best example of this(see Bosk, 1979).

What is the best academic preparation for a career in the advertising profession, especially for a career in the account executive position? On 1972 staff numbers in each specialist category, in various agencies,¹⁹ included: 40 per cent in account work, 17 per cent in media, 7 per cent in research,

17 per cent in art work, and 19 per cent in copywriting. Among them, 20 per cent of the entry-level people hired were just out of college(johnson, 1973). There is no way to get into this professional community unless one has a college degree.

With the 162 agencies in the sample from those billing of \$250,000 or more annually, Coe(1981) reports preliminary data for account management, copywriting, media positions in advertising agencies and advertising manager positions in advertising departments of corporations in the recent conference of the American Academy of Advertising. In her data, the respondents from advertising agencies' management pointed out that an understanding of marketing is the most needed knowledge for the entry-level account management position in an advertising agency and in advertising department of a corporation. The second important field was equally divided between an understanding of advertising, and oral and written communication skills. Accordingly, all respondents answered that for account management and corporation advertising personnel, one is better off studying in Business School while copywriting personnel are better off studying in Journalism School. There was no regional difference(Coe, 1981).

This is consistent with my field interview with the established agency executive. As a vice president, Mr. A in Agency G says that he prefers to hire persons who are oriented in business for account work. Often the agency's hiring criteria are highly subjective, such as hiring staff on the basis of the applicant's potential for making a contribution to the agency's future, strong intellectual curiosity and drive, and a good interview(Johnson, 1973). An outstanding portfolio or resume is an important objective standard. Conceptual ability and writing ability are important in every specialty. Some kind of experience in advertising and some product knowledge are considered important along with academic degree.

The Occupational Socialization of the Account Executives

The occupational socialization is defined here as the extent of the formal and informal on-the-job-training. In most of formal organizations, there are various procedures for socializing members to the particular goals, norms, attitudes, and values (Evans, 1963). Most occupants of work roles have a sufficient degree of internalization of those roles, both competently when placed in the appropriate setting of formal expectations (Moore, 1969). As indicated in Bandura (1969), the role expectation from the organization is a strong predictor for individual worker's socialization. The question then arises as to how do advertising organizations teach their employees to fit into the norms of the organization? What do they expect from their employees?

On-the-job-trainingⁱⁿ is very important for both individual workers and organizations. Before an individual can be socialized into an occupation he or she must make at least a provisional occupational choice. Initial occupational choices are often shaped by a variety of childhood experience (Ginzberg, 1951, 1972; Ritzer, 1977). We can see the supporting evidence from Mr. D's case, a twentyeight year-old account executive in Agency G. Ever since he was a little boy, he thought he'd be an adman. When the little boy D watched television, various commercials caused him to think, "Ah! What fantastic people they are. They make me buy all kinds of products. I want to be like them." He says that this childhood experience motivated him to decide to study advertising and journalism in college, and to get into advertising business.

As Ritzer (1977) points out, the individual must enter some sort of formal or informal program oriented toward socializing him or her to fit into the occupation. For high status professional, semi-professional, and managerial occupations, there are more elaborate, formally constituted forms of socialization as seen in medical or legal profession. According to Ritzer however, much of

what really goes on in these training programs is informal; that is, it develops in an unplanned and spontaneous fashion. This informal training on the job becomes a ritualized occupational learning process. As an illustration, Bosk's study(1979) of occupational socialization in the medical profession is noteworthy. Utilizing the participant-observer method, he examines structural controls on the training surgeons.

In general, only a small percentage of advertising agencies have formally structured training programs for their recruits. Programs differ widely, and no overall philosophy or technique has been developed or followed consistently (Barton, 1955; Britt, 1967). However, agencies try to make their recruits into all-round agency personnel as well as to teach them the techniques of individual jobs and departments.

With a citation of Wiseman's study reported in the Advertising Agency in 1951, Barton(1955) introduces various types of training procedures in the large advertising agencies such as Benton & Bowles, J. Walter Thompson, and McCann-Erickson. Each agency has its own training program which combines several methods such as master and apprentice, department routing, mail-room orientation, lecture series, junior discussion group, junior project group, department training, reading courses, and review meetings. As the spokesman of J. Walter Thompson company once explained(Barton, 1955), since agency personnel are usually considered to be expert, experienced adworkers, the person moving into the organization is not assumed to be a "trainee" or an "apprentice." From his or her first day in the company, the person becomes a fully responsible staff member. This is also true for Agency G's new staff. Since the company does not hire neophytes for account work, each new staff member is assumed to be a highly qualified specialist. The company simply gives him or her a brief orientation about company history, business, people, organizational structure and benefits, departmental function, and about client relations. Agency G has a written orientation folder for its

new account executives. After these routine orientation, the account group supervisors introduces the new staff to the clients. Usually a six month period is considered to be a training period, and the meantime, the new staff is supervised by the group head.

Even when paths in a career are regular and smooth, problems always arise in pacing and timing the adjustment into the organizations(Becker and Strauss, 1956). It is rationalized in phrases like "It takes time," and "We all made such mistakes when we were starting" to forgive, but at the same time such mistakes are well remembered in the superior's mind. While it might not be seen as rigidly as Bosk's surgeons(1979), Agency G's account executives also might be trained by strict performance standards. Profitable retention of the current accounts or solicitation of the new accounts is considered to be a good performance. Therefore, as long as one makes profits on one's own accounts, everything is going to be fine. (Even if he or she leaves the office early, or plays a little bit at being a glamorous account executive role which one would expect to find as characters of books, movies, or TV shows).

In the small agencies, the account executives are often trained by the master and apprentice method. Instead of using written guidelines, the small agencies train beginners by giving cues in oral or visual actions. Through these symbolic interactions of masters and apprentices, or superiors and subordinates, or old workers and new workers, the beginners learn adwork. There is no regularized training period, but when a beginner comes in a small agency, the person begins with work like errands(like going to affiliated offices such as photo labs, art studios, and printers). He or she is not assigned any account responsibility.²⁰ The work itself does not provide prestige or financial reward, but a future in the advertising profession. Often the small agency is a stepstone for one's career ladder.²¹ Mr. A and Mr. D's small agency experiences are good illustrations of this nature.

Agency N is a typical stepstone for its employees. The former secretary and office assistant Ms. D, and current secretary Ms. C are also advertising aspirants. Both graduated journalism school and started with this position. Ms. D already got a job in the media department of the largest advertising agency in the Twin Cities. Ms. C is still waiting for a chance while she is learning agency work procedures in Agency N.

In short, on-the-job-training in advertising organizations differs with the size and characteristics of specific agency. The larger agencies tend to have formal training procedures while the smaller agencies tend to have informal procedures. However, there is not quite a clear distinction between different sized agencies. One of the important attributes in achieving one's career goal is that the person should be best able to understand the system and manipulate it for his or her own benefit. One can achieve this through its occupational socialization processes.

Summary

As a highly competitive occupational community, the advertising profession requires competence on the basis of the organization's needs and standards. The advertising agency is an organization which consists of diversified specialties in performing adwork. Since Palmer's first advertising agency, the structure and functions have changed through the different evolutionary stages along with the environmental situations within the larger society. Yet, the fundamental business philosophy has been pretty much the same over time.

Today, there are in the United States 3,842 agencies listed in the "Agency List", handling more than 40 per cent of the total advertising budgets,²² and comprising some 80,000 professional adworkers in the advertising industry. Of these 80,000, an estimated 4,000 to 8,000 persons must be replaced each year.

The advertising agency is a dual functioning organization in the sense of being a business oriented and communication oriented institution. The central position in advertising communication in the advertising agency is considered to be occupied by the account executives, who function primarily as a liaison between the agency and the client. Because of the job characteristics, the account executive is expected to be a facilitator for his or her work. Also the account executive, as a multidimensional communicator, is expected to be a knowledgeable and a reliable professional in a variety of fields. The person should be a good listener. The position requires both business and journalism backgrounds to cope with the organization's standards.

The particular functions of account executives vary with agencies. In the small agency setting, the account executive is likely to perform many functions, i.e., the person is expected to be a jack-of-all-trades, not only making contacts but also writing copies, selecting media, and taking care of the traffic. On the contrary, the account executive in the large agency is likely to perform specialized functions emphasizing "making contacts."

Each sized agency has its own identity and strengths as seen by its proponents and users. The strengths of boutique agencies are perceived as 1) greater cost efficiency and control, 2) speed, 3) better service talent, and 4) better control by direct dealing. The strengths of full-service agencies are perceived as 1) total agency involvement and responsibility, 2) greater objectivity, 3) top talent and speedy performance, and 4) experience with many advertisers (Cummings, 1973). These characteristics are similar to both agencies in this study. Therefore, further detailed investigation is needed.

The larger advertising agencies are more likely to have experienced and trained personnel than the smaller agencies. This might be inferred from the differences in financial strength. As a result, beginners in this field usually

start their careers in the small agencies, then move up to the large agencies. By and large, the career flow in the advertising profession seems to be an upward pattern both in terms of the intra- and inter-organizational mobility. Intra-organizational movement can be found only in the large agencies since there is no complicated departmental structure in the small agencies. The entry-exit-reentry patterns of career mobility seem to be found within the boundaries of the occupation itself. That is, the professional adworkers of this study who move with the pattern "agency to client," or "client to agency," or "agency to agency." These patterns are not clearly discriminated to the organizational size. For example, there is no entry level account executive in Agency G, but only in Agency N. In the case of exit, the large agency G fires its personnel whenever they can not fit the organization's standards. This is true of the small agency N as well, but agency N's case appeared to be more gentle, at least the agency asked for mutual agreements.²³

Although competence is an important area of performance which leads to the possibility of making a person successful, and of making an organization profitable, the more important question in hiring staff is whether the applicant's specific traits can be assimilated by the specific institutions than the question of whether or not the applicant possesses a specific trait.

In terms of the large agency's hiring criteria, the small agency can be considered a stepstone for the individual account executive's career goal. The small agency provides a wide range of opportunities to become involved in every phase of advertising production. This becomes important when the small agency account executive wishes to apply for a position in a large agency. For example, the large agency G recruits only experienced advertising specialists (only those reentry level persons which means second or more stage in their career ladder.)

There are various procedures for socializing new staff to the particular organizational goals. These procedures may vary considerably depending on the size, goals, functions, institutional contexts, and other characteristics of organization (Evans, 1963). As one of the formal organizations, the advertising agencies also have a variety of socializing procedures for their employees. But, beside the brief orientation program, new members generally do not have a formal training chance in the advertising organizations. Therefore, the symbolic interactions of superiors and subordinates or old members and new members are considered to be very important socializing mechanisms in both large and small sized advertising agencies.

In general, this study supports the observations of some researchers that the organizational system is important for adult socialization and career mobility. Furthermore, the complexity of the organizational tends to lead the individual workers to be more competitive, constrained, and impersonal in their relationships with other workers. In future studies, some of structural variables such as size, complexity, centralization, formalization, and stratification of the advertising organizations can be tested systematically in determining the pathways and socialization of adworkers in large sample size.

Notes

1. See also Cummings(1973), p. 13 and J. E. Littlefield and C. A. Kirkpatrick, "Advertising Agencies and Department," in their book Advertising: Mass Communication in Marketing (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1970), pp.417-51.
2. However, Hower(1949) and Barton(1955) indicate that the first advertising agency was established in 1841.
3. Pease refers to the Advertising Age, "583 Agencies Record \$2.9 billion income," March 13, 1978, p.1.
4. The concept of occupational socialization and its consequences for career patterns among various occupations has been discussed extensively by several occupational sociologists. See for example, E. C. Hughes, Men and Their Work (New York: Free Press, 1958); Berlew and Hall(1966); Mortimer and Simmons (1976). For journalism perspective on this, see Breed(1955); Johnston, Slawski, and Bowman(1976), pp.31-96; and Atwood and Grotta(1973).
5. Barton(1955), p.3. More recent data show some change. An estimated average size of agency is 14 persons in 1977. For details, see DeFleur and Dennis (1981), p.453.
6. Two agencies were selected on the basis of my own convenience. The large agency G is located in Bloomington, and the small agency N is located in downtown Minneapolis. For anonymity, alphabetical names are used.
7. Except Minneapolis headquarters. Four branch offices are Coral Gables, Florida; Denver, Colorado; Waterloo, Iowa; and Sioux Falls, South Dakota.
8. There is only one female account executive among 18 account management personnel.
9. In fact, most boutiques are small agencies established by persons who once worked for full-service agencies. See DeFleur and Dennis(1981), p.456.
10. The three agencies were classified as "small" \$8million/40 persons; "medium" \$12 million/65 persons; and "large" \$25 million/100 persons.
11. During the participant observation in May, 1981, this was happened in printing sales promotion materials. It was Ms. A's client.
12. W. A. Lowen's article, "Ages and Earning Power of Copy Writers and Account Executives," Advertising Agency(August, 1949),pp.46-7;92.
13. Mr. A says that if he wants to win in Agency G, then he should be a more "politician". This implies that the promotion depends upon informal factors. See Dalton(1951).
14. Mr. D
15. This is an experiment for expanding the agency's business. Only one person is working on that.

16. Interview with Mr. C and Mr. E.
17. Agency G has 19 savings and loans accounts in 11 states.
18. He worked for the parking lot as an attendant while he was a college student. The majority of his customers were advertising agency executives. Mr. A developed friendships with them through informal chatting about baseball and so on. One night, he exchanged a joke with a gentleman: "When I become an advertising manager, I'll hire you." "Why?" "Because I like you." The next day, the man came in and said Mr. A, "Since you are not able to hire me, why don't I hire you?" Mr. A was offered an assistant position to the account executive at the man's advertising agency.
19. Billings of \$1 million to \$327 million annually.
20. Note Mr. A's case. In the beginning year, he did not have any solid account.
21. It might be true that some people in the small agency do not want to move up. As a compatible examination, see Faulkner(1974). In his study, professional hockey and symphony orchestras provide examples of the structural and personal mechanisms for sustaining the commitment and motivation of second-level of minor-league participants.
22. In 1977, American businesses spent more than \$36 billion and advertising agencies handled \$9 billion. See DeFleur and Dennis(1981), p.453.
23. Ms. A exemplified Ms. B's case while the field interview. Ms. B was a media person, but the company thought she was not an appropriate staff.

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CHARACTERS: Mr. A - Account Executive, Account Supervisor, and Vice president (G)

Mr. B - Account Executive, and Owner (N)

Mr. C - Copywriter (3)

Mr. D - Account executive (3)

Mr. E - Account Manager (G)

Ms. A-- Account Executive (N)

Ms. B - Ex-Media Person (N)

Ms. C - Secretary (N)

Ms. D - Ex-Secretary and Office Assistant (N)
